845 (because of what she carries) on her
[539] back, she dies."

It would indeed be difficult for her to suckle two babies for two years, and to carry them on her back while fetching water and deadwood and doing all her other chores. Very likely, the weaker of twins is neglected, which greatly increases the higher natural mortality of twins. The observable fact is that one never seems to encounter adult Amhara twins.

C. Naming the Baby.

553 Since Amhara fathers pay little attention to details concerning the unweaned baby, the task of naming the baby, giving it the "world name", usually falls to the mother. She does not usually prepare a name during pregnancy. Instead, she awaits the momentuous event of birth, then decides on a name based on her predominant emotion at that time, or on a significant event occurring at the same time, or on the special wish she has for the personality or the future of her baby. All classes follow this practice, but among nobles there is an additional pattern of naming the baby after a deceased ancestor, particularly in the direct patrilineal line.

55 Common "world names" given by mothers include:

Boys

"Tasmrat" - (lit. miracle), e.g. if the mother barely survived the parturition, or some other miraculous deliverance took place.

"Mallasa" - (lit. he returned), e.g. if the baby's father had been away, and the mother was overjoyed to see him return just at the time the baby was born.

551 "Metekēy" - (lit. my substitute), e. g. if the mother had lost a previous baby, especially of the same (male) sex.

"Seyum" - (lit. the one appointed to dignity), e.g. if the mother has ambitions for the boy. Common among nobles.

"Dästa" - (lit. joy).

Girls

"Almaz" - (lit. diamond)

"Mänän" - (lit. excellent, exquisite, magnificent). Common to nobles.

"Tsädal" - (lit. splendor, luster). From the Geez language.

Baptismal names, described earlier, are given by the confessor, sometimes based on the name of a deceased ancestor - especially among nobility - but are not usually used in later life unless or until the person marries by "qurban" ecclesiastical marriage, or becomes a monk or nun. Typical baptismal names are (for boys):

"Gäbrä-Mäsqal" - (lit. Servant of the Cross)

"Gäbrä-Egziabhēr"- (lit. Servant of God).

D. The long, happy nursling stage.

854 Despite the many physical ailments that endanger the life of a baby in this materially undeveloped country, the nursling stage is one in which it receives more care than at any later period.

[853] The long, 2-year breastfeeding, for both boys and girls, gives them some resistance to the effects of malnutrition, vitamin shortage, diarrhea, and infections of all kinds from which older children suffer. The nursling is never out of touch with the body of the mother, or other woman or older sister. Most of the time the baby

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

588 rewards as agreed upon") practiced by the Shi'ites in particular.
171 (footnote 81). The Abyssinian Coptic "Fetha Nägäst" forbids concubinage; but the custom has long been widespread. "Damoz" is even recognized in the modern law of Emperor Haile Selassie.

551 Individual arrangements are freest in "damoz", also in "qurban"
585 though sometimes less so, and least in "semanya". But in all three forms of marriage, the wife retains her maiden name and does not assume that of her husband. Even Empress Menen continues her old name. Sometimes the husband's mother may try to symbolize her authority - or even affection - by giving a new name to her new daughter-in-law living in her hamlet, but the bride's kinfolk and
602 peers will continue to use her old name. This is another, unconscious, emphasis of kinship relations over affinal ones.

588 The "damoz" is not considered contradictory to monogamy, which may explain her respectability despite prohibition of concubinage in the "Fetha Nägäst" code. Religious persons will explain the paradox away by quoting from Genesis "be fruitful and multiply".

583 In rural districts there is sometimes found a 4th form of
184 marriage, which indeed is re-enacted in some wedding ceremonies of "semanya". This form is bride capture, especially found among families too poor to defray the expenses of a wedding and cows that must be given the "semanya" couple. To cover up the shame and the poverty, the bride is "captured" and "pursued", by pre-arranged collusion. While she ostensibly goes, alone, to fetch water or gather deadwood, the groom's "mize" appear suddenly, preferably on horseback, and carry her off into the bush, while she, though ex-

Footnote 81: Donaldson, D.M.: Temporary Marriage in Iran. Moslem World, 1936, pp. 358-364. Smith, W. Robertson: Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia, 1885.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

estates" make up the most common subjects of litigation in Manz, and hardly a day passes in the courts there without a hearing on some case about *rĭst*.

The Manzēs are as stubbornly loyal to their fathers' faith as they are to their land. They take much pride in the strictness with which the Orthodox fasts are observed in Manz, and in the fact that non-Christians are not to be found there. A number of legends told locally represent Manz as an especially hallowed Christian territory. One legend says that after the Crucifixion the angel Uriel gathered some of Jesus' blood on his wings and flew to Manz. Standing on the hill of Ḍabra Qopros in Māmā Meder, he shook his wings and thereby sprinkled the holy blood over the entire area. Another story dates the sanctification of Manz by the blood of Jesus to the time when a portion of the true Cross was brought to Ethiopia and tells of how on the way to its repository at Gishēn Māryām, in Wallo, some drops spilled from the relic onto Manz soil.[87] Still another legend relates that the Virgin Mary sojourned in Manz when Jesus was a young boy. Lake Alo Bāhr in western Gērā Meder is said to be the product of Mary's wrath—her punishment of the people who lived on what was dry land at the time for judging against her in a dispute with a local woman.

To defend his land, church, or honor, the typical Manzē is ready at short notice to fight to the death. In their own eyes, as in the eyes of others, the men of Manz are reputed for hardiness and combativeness. *Mot ged yallam* ("Never mind about death!") is the motto one governor from Manz volunteered as the key to the ethos of his people. The Manzē wants his son to be *guabaz* ("brave") and uses this term, like that of *waṭādar* ("soldier"), as a favorite compliment. The names which are characteristically given to children in Manz express this determination:

Ahidē	"Thrasher"	*Goshemē*	"Shover"
Asdangat	"Frighten"	*Latybalu*	"Let Them Bow"
Atāmantā	"Don't Hesitate"	*Mān Yāzhāl*	"Who Orders You?"
Balātchaw	"Give It To Them"	*Nādaw*	"Wipe Him Out"
Balāy-metā	"Hit On The Top"	*Ṭālārgē*	"Powerful"
Chabudē	"Squeezer"	*Tāsaw*	"Smash Him"
Ċhafċhefē	"Hacker"	*Weqātchaw*	"Thrash Them"

Female names in Manz sometimes reflect this virile emphasis; for example, *Hijibātchaw* ("Go Against Them") or *Asagadatch* ("She Makes Them Bow").

A common symbol of physical bravery is the *dulā*, a hardwood staff about three feet long. The Manzē is rarely seen without his *dulā*. It has many purposes—to brace his shoulders on long treks, to carry loads, to ward off dogs when he goes visiting, to support his body while listening to litigation or standing at the long church services.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

streets, "he salutes him with his left hand, which is a mark of contempt."[41] The Falasha, potters and metalsmiths of Judaic faith, were similarly segregated, and plied their arts and crafts in another quarter.

Though many different peoples came together in Gondar, and though it was a meeting-point of trade routes from the Sudan, the Red Sea ports, and the African interior, Gondar's cultural role was not primarily that of a melting pot of diverse traditions. It served rather as an agent for the quickened development of the Amhara's own culture.[42] And thus it became a focus of national pride. The countryfolk looked on Gondar not as a hotbed of alien custom and immorality, as they often regard Addis Ababa today, but as the most perfect and advanced embodiment of their own traditional values.

The Gondarē himself, as denizen of this second Jerusalem, was prouder still. A snobbish pride became one of the conspicuous marks of Gondarē character. This pride is manifest in many ways. On the one hand, it appears as incorrigible vanity. Hence arise the many caricatures of the Gondarē—as one who goes hungry in order to purchase fine clothes in which to strut about, or as one who satisfied his hunger at home before going out in order not to appear needy at his host's table. (Perhaps the most famous of the stories about the Gondarē is the one about the man who spent the night naked and shivering because, for form's sake, he hung up his only garment as a curtain about himself.) On the other hand, Gondarē pride appears as the immense dignity with which the Gondarē carries himself, his sensitivity to the nuances of personal relations, his choice use of the Amharic language, his noble bearing. If there is a polarity in Gondarē life comparable to the Manzē polarity of bravery versus aggression, it is pride versus vanity.

Gondar's role as political and cultural capital of the nation for so long produced two other distinctive aspects of the Gondarē ethos. One is the love of *shumat*, or political appointments. Despite the unfortunate denouement of the Gondar monarchy, Gondar's importance as chief administrative center for such a long period had a deep influence on the ways of the people. "Give the Gondarē any office whatsoever," it is said, "and no matter what the salary, he will be happy."

The Gondarē's love of *shumat* is expressed in two phenomena which contrast strikingly with their Manzē counterparts. In the naming of children, the Gondarē prefers names which express an ambition for political honors, such as *Makonnen*, meaning "nobleman," and *Negusē* ("my king"). Furthermore, litigation in Gondar is characteristically concerned with disputes regarding *mādariyā*, land which has been given as an award for service to the government, as well as with disputes over *rīst*.

The other prominent aspect of Gondar's ethos relates to its position as the center of Ethiopia's Christian literati. The fact that it was the ecclesiastical capital of the country is not the most important consideration here. Of course,

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

in such numbers that "Manzē" virtually became a synonym for "underground patriot."

After the liberation, as after the routing of Ahmad Grāñ's forces, the Manzē once again returned to redeem a ravished land. Slowly, the houses were rebuilt, the land was plowed once more. Churches which had been rebuilt after Grāñ's destruction only to be razed by the Italians were again put into place. Tough in his spiritual as in his physical life, the Manzē doggedly re-established the culture of his own. Now as before the occupation, a man of Manz sits on the throne, promising to let no foreigner take his country's land,* while the young braves celebrate the royal line in their festive boasting:

Ya-Manz ababā, ya-Manz ababā! Yābbabāl genā!
The flower of Manz, the flower of Manz! It will bloom yet again!

The Legacy of Manz and Gondar

Thus far the significance of Manz and Gondar has been discussed from the point of view of an outsider. We have attempted to assess, on the basis of the best available evidence, the respective historical and cultural roles of these two noted Amhara regions. We turn now to a different though related question, namely, the significance of these two places in the minds and feelings of Ethiopians themselves.

Two kinds of reaction are conspicuous. To the Ethiopian Modernist, Manz and Gondar are seen primarily as outlying pockets of conservatism. Their commitments to the past move them to resist certain changes promoted by the national government, with Manz protesting modern education and Gondar defending itself against nationalist centralization. They are regarded as backward areas, representative of the many forces that are "holding Ethiopia back," and to a certain extent are disdained.

To their inhabitants, on the other hand, these places are objects of intense loyalty. For differences of identity among the Amhara are defined chiefly in terms of their *agar*, or "home country." The size of one's *agar* is relative; it depends on the context in which the symbol is used, and may be as small as a district or as large as a province. Whatever the referent, one's *agar* signifies more than a place of residence or provenience. It means "home," and all those whose families live there are regarded with special affection, while those out-

* On certain festive occasions the following antiphonal chant is declaimed in praise of "Ṭaqel" (the affectionate, "horse" name of Haile Selassie):

[Leader:] *Mīn āla ṭaqel mīn āla?*
[Chorus:] *Agarē la-saw agarē la-saw alsatem ala!*
[Leader:] What did Ṭaqel say, what did he say?
[Chorus:] "My country to outsiders, my country to outsiders, I will not give!" said he.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

643 17 Accession to the throne involved two rites, anointment by oil and bestowal of the crown. Authority to conduct these rites was vested in the Egyptian archbishop, the *abuna*. The formal coronation took place in a ceremony for which in former times it was expected that the parties repair to the ancient sanctuary of Aksum. The change in status brought about through [551] coronation was symbolized by the assumption of a new name, as, for example, Rās Tafari Makonnen became Haile Selassie I. The royal insignia included a ring, worn on the right ear; the royal flag, the staff of which bore a cross resting on a ball; and special drums, trumpets, and flutes.[6] Also included was a red silk parasol known as *zhān ṭelā* (origin of the present-day Amharic word for umbrella). When the emperor was in procession they included a white horse with small silver bells at his head, a silver shield, and a white headband of muslin or fine silk.[7]

Successors to the throne were not determined according to a fixed rule like primogeniture. Membership in the Solomonian line was normally a prerequisite, and the unsuccessful reign of Yoṣṭos (1711–16) demonstrates the hazards of rule when no pretense to such affiliation could be maintained. Usually, however, there were several legitimate candidates for the position, and the absence of fixed procedures for choosing among them has meant that the death of an emperor was often a time of confusion and political improvisation. At times the monarch designated his successor and swore the grandees of the realm to an oath of support, as when Menelik named Līǰǰ Iyāsu; at times a single powerful lord, like Rās Mikā'ēl Sehul at Gondar, was the effective king-maker; at times the judgment and interests of a number of potentates, including on occasion the queen mother, were determinant.

The role of the emperor was largely symbolic, a quality which André Caquot has stressed.

> The king is guarantor of peace and prosperity for his entire country. Here the superhuman virtue attributed to the sovereign by the Ethiopian royal ideology manifests itself most clearly. It is not so much a question of his administering the country politically as it is that he guarantee order by his very presence and the virtue inherent in him.[8]

The idea that the mere presence of the monarch was a guarantee of civil order is reflected in the idiom *agara negus* ("country of a king"), which means a tranquil land. Related to this conception is the requirement that the body of the emperor be devoid of any physical defect or deformity, so that the well-being of the body politic may be properly symbolized.

But during most of Ethiopia's history the emperor was by no means merely an awesome figurehead, aloof from the works and turmoil of his realm. It was customary for him to serve the society actively in a number of ways. He had to organize the defense of the country and lead troops into battle—if

304 the names of saints. The client generally selects designs within the range appropriate to his needs, and women favor aesthetically attractive patterns. Only the gums are undecorated with designs, but are completely blackened; even here, however, the tattooing is regarded as aesthetically pleasing. Men sometimes have their godfather's names as well as their own (which incorporates the patronym) tattooed on their wrists, so that should they die in some foreign place, the local priests will regognize them as Christians and give them a proper burial.

[551] [608] [764]

Table 5 outlines the tokwariy's practice.

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

*787 vide a stimulus for the layman to obtain the services of an awdunigist-using debtera; this is particularly true when messages are redundant or corroborated by other kinds of information. Appendix C provides examples of hilim motifs and messages.

*787 *793 Infrequently, an ecclesiastical student who is begging for food will deliver a spontaneous prediction (imeninant), before the house of a prospective donor. *(192) These predictions duplicate the range of hilim messages, and refer to members of the household.

*787 *793 539 The Awdunigist Texts. "Awdunigist" refers to a category of texts with which a debtera divines by means of arithmetical calculations. Each text is divided into two parts. The first specifies information which is required for the debtera's calculations; the second contains the information which the debtera seeks, and is arranged as a series of numbered entries, only one of which is appropriate to the debtera's input information.

The categories of input information are:

*787 *793 539 • 551 Names. Each letter of the Amharic syllabary is given a set numerical value, which like all input values, remains constant for any awdunigist text used. Using these numbers, the debtera converts each input name to the sum of the values of its constituent letters. Ego's autonym is almost always required; his father's autonym (which is ego's patrinym) and mother's autonym are fre-

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

quently required. Depending upon the contingency being investigated, the names of other individuals may also be included; for example, in divination concerning litigation, the judge's name is asked.

Dates. The Amhara group years into cycles of four, naming each year after one of the four evangelists. Thus, 1956 is the year (zemene), of Yowhanis, 1957 of Matiyows, 1958 of Markows, 1959 of Luwkows, 1960 of Yowhanis, and so on. Each year is assigned a numerical value (for example, zemene Yowhanis is two). Months, days, and diurnal count (day is six, night is fourteen) each are numbered.

Directions. Each of the eight cardinal and intermediary points is numbered.

The numerical values of all required input information are totaled, and this total is then divided by a factor indicated in the text. The debtera's goal is the numerical remainder of this division; it is this figure that indicates which of the text's numbered entires is relevant to the subject (that is, the person about whom the debtera is divining).

Broadly speaking, there are two categories of awdunigist texts. The first consists of largely redundant "astrological" (kokob) texts. These texts are based on the assumption that the course of any person's life on earth can be revealed by learning with which of twelve